NATIONAL REVIEW

Cents

June 13, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Freedom to Join or Starve

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

Spain in the U. S. Balance Sheet

J. DERVIN

Senator Wiley Repudiated

L. BRENT BOZELL

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · WILLMOORE KENDALL

JAMES BURNHAM · RUSSELL KIRK · ROBERT PHELPS

SAM M. JONES · WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM · FREDA UTLEY

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

More Billions for Vets?

Can the United States afford to spend 77 billion dollars in additional veterans' benefits in the next 44 years? American Legion lobbyists think we can. They are spearheading the drive for the new pension bill which would cost 528 million dollars in the current fiscal year alone. Among the hard-minded opponents of the bill is Rep. Olin Teague, Democrat of Texas, a World War Two hero and chairman of the Veterans Committee. When and if the bill reaches the Senate, it will have to run the gauntlet of Senator Harry Byrd's economy-minded jurisdiction; and if it surmounted that hurdle, there would still be the strong possibility of a White House veto.

Standing Room Only

Each second the world tots up a net population gain (births minus deaths) of a little more than one person. Every day there are another 110,000 mouths to be fed. To assure the world an adequate diet, the Population Reference Bureau says that 150 square miles of new farm land should go into cultivation each day. This would give three-fourths of an acre per person.

Super-Roads

The new road program will restore America to a leading position in modern transportation. A 40,000-mile network of interstate super-highways will link 42 state capitals and most of the nation's larger cities. The program will cost the federal government 25 billion dollars, the states 2.5 billion.

NAM Protest

An attempt by the House to add new regulations of big business in the case of mergers is assailed by the National Association of Manufacturers as "an unfortunate departure from the basic concepts of anti-trust law" in that the proposed regulation would destroy competitive factors and substitute a dollar standard as the sole criterion for halting mergers. Manufacturers were supported in their protest by milk processors and oil and gas producers.

And Prosperity?

Some of the GOP strategists are beginning to face up to the fact that in some areas at least prosperity is showing green through the gold. They admit that between now and November a downturn in the economy, if sufficiently drastic, could mean serious trouble even for Mr. Eisenhower. Depression is a dirty word, and recession is scarcely more respectable, but there is a shaky undertone to the over-all picture of prosperity.

Farm Law

For better or worse, we have a farm law. According to President Eisenhower, "its advantages outweigh its harmful provisions." The Chief Executive termed the soil bank "the heart of the bill" and expressed his disappointment that the plan would not go fully into effect this year.

Seaton Heads Interior

One of Mr. Eisenhower's first-found political friends will be the new Secretary of the Interior. Fred A. Seaton served as GOP Senator from Nebraska in '51 and '52 and was one of Eisenhower's earliest supporters. As Deputy Assistant to the President, he was Sherman Adams' chief assistant. In his new position Seaton succeeds Douglas McKay, who is out to beat Wayne Morse in Oregon for the latter's Senate seat.

Stop Squeeze

Under legislation sponsored by the National Automobile Dealers Association, car manufacturers would be prohibited from forcing unwanted automobiles on dealers. Chairman Priest of the House Commerce Committee, Democrat of Tennessee, is the sponsor of the revised bill.

Symington

The leading Democratic dark horse, Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri, says he is not a candidate but couldn't refuse a draft. The Missouri Democratic Convention instructed its delegates to "stick with Stu" until he releases them or a majority of the National Convention nominates another candidate.

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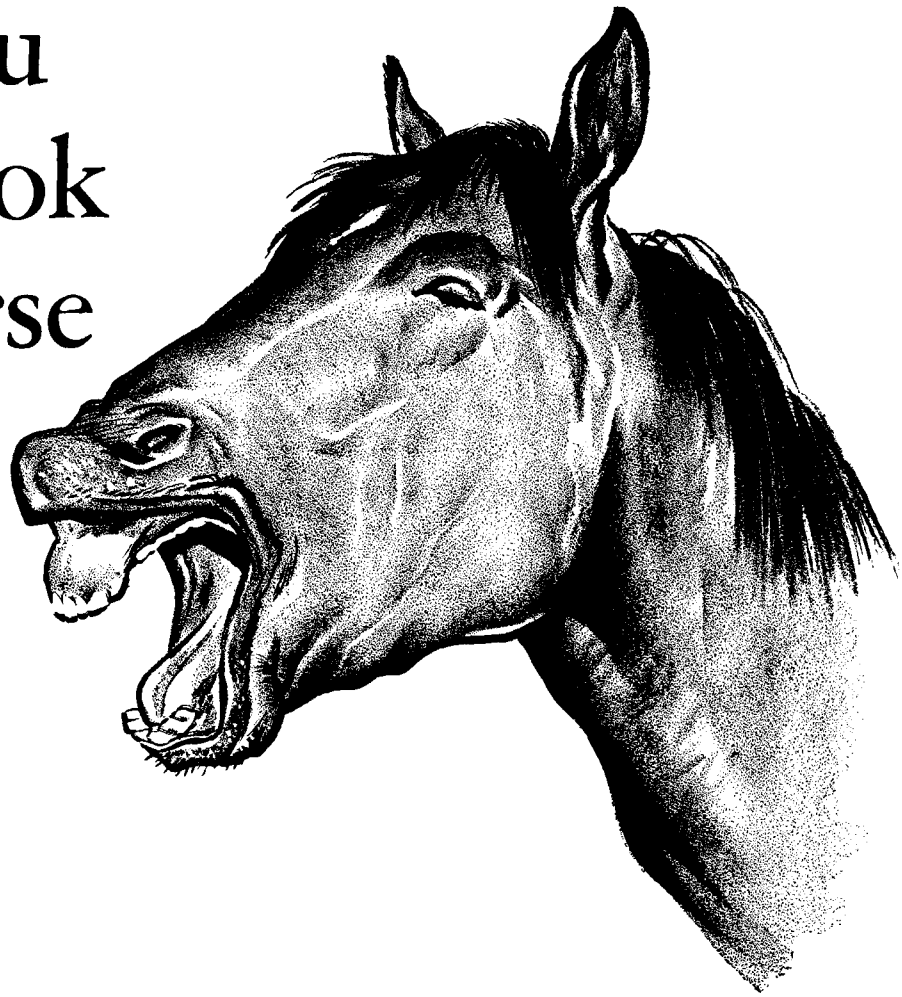
Why you <u>should</u> look a gift horse in the mouth!



HORSES have been laughing for years—especially gift horses. Remember the legend of the Trojan Horse? For ten years the Greeks laid siege to the walls of Troy. For ten years the Trojans stubbornly resisted. Then the Greeks went away—or pretended to. But they left behind them a horse—a towering, wooden horse—as a gift to their brave enemies.

The Trojans, revelling in the sweet wine of victory, wheeled the horse inside their walls, the better to admire their hard-won trophy. But while they slept, Greek soldiers slid down from the belly of the horse, flung open the gates, and the Greek Army poured in. That's how the Greeks conquered a city by sly treachery and disguise.

The Trojan Horse is perhaps the most famous gift horse of all time. But we have gift horses in our midst, too. They're more real than legendary.

What the communists cannot conquer by persuasion and example, they conquer by treachery and guile. And infiltration into key positions in our government and other organizations is one of their methods. Smiling all the while, they plan our destruction.

One way we in America can keep communists out of positions of trust is by being in those positions of trust ourselves. It means ordinary citizens getting into active politics, joining civic organizations, taking an interest in their churches, their schools. It means bringing government closer to home—reducing its size whenever and wherever possible.

It means work, no two ways about it. But it's work the communists will gladly do if we do not.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● In spite of the thunder now rumbling on the horizon, a strike in the steel industry is not forecast. Unlike James Carey of the electrical workers union, for whom the Westinghouse strike was a desperate attempt at personal rehabilitation, the chief of the steel workers, David McDonald, has a solid and powerful position in the labor movement. He does not need a strike, the steel companies do not want one, and both are sobered by the current stumble in the business cycle. An agreement is likely, therefore, which would be sealed by an advance in the price of steel, and of the thousands of products that are made from steel.

● As we go to press the Supreme Court has awarded a second victory to the railway labor unions (see "Freedom to Join or Starve," p. 13). It refused to hear the case of two workers who had appealed on the ground of religious scruples against being forced to join labor unions. They contended that Congress, in amending the Railway Labor Act to permit compulsory unionism, had violated the "free exercise" of religion guaranteed them by the First Amendment. The petitioners in question, George C. Wicks and Phillip F. Jensen, belong to the Plymouth Brethren, whose creed precludes their joining any private organization having among its members persons not of their sect. In refusing to hear them, the Court in effect placed federal labor union policy above a right hitherto protected by the Constitution.

● The Federal Court of Appeals in Washington has declared that it has no authority to pass on the literature Congress may distribute. In doing so, it overruled one of its own members, Judge Wilkins, who several weeks ago enjoined the Senate Internal Security Committee from mailing out its handbook, "The Communist Party of the U.S.A.," on the grounds that it libeled the Methodist Federation for Social Action. "We have no more authority," said the Court with uncharacteristic comprehension of its role under the Constitution, "to prevent Congress . . . from publishing a document than to prevent them from publishing the *Congressional Record*."

● North Carolina is perhaps the least volatile of Southern states, and the most thoroughly exposed to

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the influences of the North. Those who wonder how much stamina the South will show in resisting the Supreme Court are, under the circumstances, especially impressed by the repudiation last week by the voters of two North Carolina Congressmen, to whom renomination was refused because they had failed to sign the Southern manifesto calling for resistance to the desegregation ruling. A third Congressman who had declined to sign the Manifesto was renominated, but only after declaring himself, after reconsidering, in sympathy with it.

● Pierre Mendès-France did not insist that the thirteen Radical ministers who are a part of the administration of M. Guy Mollet resign with him. Nevertheless, the resignation of the titular head of the Radical Party, on the issue of Algerian policy, is an important step in the disintegration of the government. M. Mollet must now rely on his own Socialists and the Communists almost exclusively, and that is probably not enough now that the Chamber is grown restive. The government has been in power six months, and the time is coming for the traditional challenge. M. Laniel lasted ten months, Mendès-France eight, Faure nine.

● The State Department, departing from its current policy of massive toleration, has refused even to discuss with Bulgaria a re-establishment of diplomatic relations. In 1950, the United States withdrew its representatives in retaliation against Bulgarian treatment of U.S. Minister Donald Heath, who, the Bulgarians said, had maintained "spy-traitor" contacts within Bulgaria.

● A Parisian newspaper has publicized a difficulty that nagged French protocol officers when Marshal Tito visited France. The Marshal demanded a bullet-proof automobile. A search was instituted and it was discovered that only one such automobile exists in all of France. It is owned by the leader of the French Communist Party, Maurice Thorez. M. Thorez adamantly refused to allow the Marshal the use of his automobile, thereby expressing what some people interpret as his personal reluctance to forgive Tito the indignities he visited, over a period of years, upon Thorez' close friend Joseph Stalin. The French substituted an esquadrille of bodyguards for the unavailable car.

● The State Department last week did its best to brand former Congressman Hamilton Fish as an agent of Nazi Germany by simultaneously 1) releasing German war documents establishing that money was spent in the United States in 1940 to support the anti-war movement, 2) stating that a "well-known Republican Congressman" had received some of that money, and 3) citing, in a footnote, an anti-war manifesto issued by a committee headed by Mr. Fish that had appeared in a New York newspaper as a paid advertisement. The German document did not name Mr. Fish as the recipient of the money; the State Department did not allege that he was the "well-known Republican Congressman" in question; it was left, merely, for the public to put two and two together, which, Mr. Fish not having been charged with following the Communist line, it is free to do.

● Senator Albert Gore, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, has decided that the United States must immediately get and hereafter always maintain more and bigger nuclear power plants than any and all other nations. This he proposes be done by setting up a series of government corporations—nuclear TVA's, so to speak. Chairman Lewis Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission has pointed out that, unlike the nations of Western Europe, Africa and much of Asia, the United States has abundant present sources of energy (coal, gas and waterpower) which for the time being are cheaper than nuclear fission, admittedly the key industry of the future. We therefore do not need to saddle our economy up with high-cost — and government-owned — nuclear plants, but can afford a more leisurely pace as we develop efficient nuclear methods at costs competitive with those of other sources of energy. Admiral Strauss' argument is unconvincing to Senator Gore.

● James Reston, chief Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, reports that the rough treatment accorded the Foreign Aid Bill by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the House Appropriations Committee reflects growing grass-roots opposition to the Administration's giveaway policies. It does not cross Mr. Reston's mind to reconsider, in the light of the people's expressed judgment, the validity of the program. Rather, the situation calls for a "much more ambitious program of public education."

● The University of Idaho has awarded a doctorate of letters to J. H. Gipson, who as president of Caxton Printers has published, over the years, a generous share of the nation's output of recognizably conservative books. The University of Idaho, along with Mr. Gipson, deserves the congratulations of the community, for it has honored a genuine nonconformist.

● The significance of the repudiation of Senator Wiley by the Republican Party of Wisconsin is discussed this week by Mr. Bozell. Mr. Kendall, in his column, describes a Liberal response to the latest enumerated freedom, Mr. Howard Pyle's Right to Suffer.

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Loving the Unlovely

The rehabilitation of Communists proceeds at an accelerated pace. So far along has the program come that longtime enemies of Communism are once again consenting to discourse with Communists, in much the same spirit in which athletic representatives of different colleges meet to discuss commonly acceptable rules.

It is disappointing to see Mr. Norman Thomas, who for all his blindness as a purveyor of socialism has relentlessly opposed Communism, foregather with Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Party, and W.E.B. DuBois, Communist historian, to discuss at a public forum "America's Road to Democracy and World Peace," tra-la.

The principals met under the auspices of the non-Communist Fellowship of Reconciliation, whose chairman had announced that the objective of the meeting was based on the proposition that "the most effective and only true democratic way to combat mistaken or evil views is to confront those who hold them with the truth presented in a spirit of love."

We do not take the position that Eugene Dennis and W.E.B. DuBois are forever immune to appeals based on the spirit of love. That would be sacrilege. But we do suggest that a dialectical encounter on the stage of Carnegie Hall before partisan and boisterous audiences is not likely to lead to Damascus. Mr. Thomas' belief that he can, via such confrontations, get through to hearts encysted by years of cynicism and guile is naive. And hurtful to the cause of freedom; for Mr. Thomas and the Fellowship of Reconciliation in effect label the Communists as co-seekers after "democracy and world peace."

The Cycle Dips

The May drop of more than 10 per cent in stock market averages goes beyond what the analysts are fond of calling a "technical reaction." It mirrors, rather, the judgment currently made by investors concerning distortions in the economy that have become increasingly plain since the first of the year.

Beginning in December, the Federal Reserve Board Index of Industrial Production leveled off. The chronic depression in agriculture has continued. Textiles never did join in the boom. Cars, grossly overproduced during 1955, have piled 900,000 high on dealers' floors. The auto companies, forced to lessen production, have laid off 200,000 workers.

TV sales are down. Inventories of most major household appliances are swollen. The sensitive index of steel scrap prices has dropped $8.00 (15 per cent) in a month. Department and variety store sales, car-loadings and railroad income, are running behind a year ago. Housing starts, off substantially, have brought lumber prices down. Business inventories are up $7 billion to a total of $85 billion.

These weaknesses are by no means universal. Total consumer income has not yet fallen off. Business spending and electric power production are at new highs. Employment holds at the record level of 64 million.

There is little doubt, however, that corrections are in order, and overdue.

The excessive current inventories at all levels are, in general, the consequence of an overexpansion of credit. Since 1945, consumer installment credit (independent of home and farm mortgages) has leapt from $2.6 billion to $28 billion, half of it for auto purchases. Business expansion has been proceeding at an annual rate of about $30 billion, with $5 billion coming from new "external" financing.

This vast and shaky credit pyramid has been built partly out of the optimism of consumers eager to buy and industries each anxious to sell its maximum share. But it would not have attained its present vast dimensions had it not been for the easy money policies of Congress and the "money managers" of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board.

And so, at some point, the stern discipline of defaulted loans, unpaid installments, layoffs and losses (or of runaway inflation) must squeeze some fat from the credit structure and the bloated inventories.

Doubtless, with the election less than six months away, the government boards will use all their fiscal instruments to prevent the current slide from going much further. The function of these instruments is, in general, to exert inflationary pressures. And it is even possible that they will succeed in confining the dip in the cycle to modest proportions. But in the long run this is likely to prove a costly salve. It is hard to see how the now distorted structure of the economy can avoid much longer a considerable correction: the kind that economists, with their semantic delicacy, would term a "recession," though perhaps short of a "depression" or "crisis."

It is not easy to be philosophical about the loss of one's own job or fortune. But let us face the fact that the theory of an all-encompassing and continuous boom is an illusion. There are continuous declines (as there have been in the history of civilizations), but not continuous booms.

Difficulties necessarily arise for one or another industry or branch of industry; and periodically, to one or another degree, for the economy as a whole. These can be exaggerated to a critical extent by errors in judgment, monopoly abuses, natural or social calamities, or government interventions. They can be minimized by intelligence, foresight, and respect for the laws of the market. But so long as we have an economic system that is even partially free,

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non-collectivist and competitive, difficulties will occur. They are the inescapable price of the economy's freedom, flexibility and impulse to dynamic growth. They can be done away with only by strapping the economy into a regimented straitjacket that deprives it of resilience, crushes its creativeness, raises real costs, and sacrifices consumer needs to bureaucratized planning.

And even at that sacrifice, the difficulties — including the "corrections" and "depressions" — are not removed but only disguised. The worker's wages are not cut, but he cannot buy what he wants with them. He is not laid off, but sent to Siberia.

Modish Fallacies

The American Economic Foundation (of 295 Madison Ave., New York) which has done an excellent job for many years in the cause of economic education, has come up with a relevant list of the commonest fallacies of Socialists and economic interventionists. They include the following:

1. The fallacy that government has something to give the people which it does not first have to take away from the people.
2. That management can guarantee job security.
3. That the workers of *any* nation can improve their welfare by increasing their pay without increasing their production.
4. That labor union pressures are primarily responsible for the workers' rising standard of living.
5. That capital is money.
6. That profit is something left over after paying the costs of production.

William Graham Sumner (or was it Albert Jay Nock?) once wrote that if five American opinion-makers were to read and understand Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics,* the promises of socialism would never take hold in this country. If AEF's fallacies were voiced and understood, socialism would not be advanced—or at least not as a program with humanitarian, material, or libertarian objectives.

On Winning Elections

Applied today, Harry Hopkins' famous political formula—"tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect" —means victory in November through bigger and better subsidies for the farmers, higher minimum wages for the workers, greater social security payments for old people, and federal aid for highways and schools for local political organizations. Now Mr. Hopkins may be right. Just the same, those who preserve a residual—not to be confused with a demagogic—faith in the democratic process are glad, from time to time, to come across a plausible demurrer.

Such a demurrer is entered by Mr. Rogers Dunn, director of the Dunn Organization, a private survey group which has come out with a breakdown of voting statistics over the quarter century since the first Roosevelt election, tending to show that it just doesn't work out that way.

For instance, the Democratic vote for President in 1936 was 27.5 million. In 1952, after sixteen years of New Dealism and Fair Dealism, and a vast increase in population, it was 27.3 million. In the 98 most heavily industrialized counties in the United States, the Democratic vote in 1932 was 57 per cent; in 1948, it was only 52 per cent. During the same span of years, union membership in the U.S. had grown from 3.2 million to 15.6 million. In the Iowa and Illinois farming areas, the Democratic vote decreased by 40 per cent and 30 per cent, respectively, between 1936 and 1952.

There are lots of objections to any reassuring conclusions being drawn from these figures. But they are reassuring, are they not?

Mr. Berle Thinks Wishfully

In a recent issue of the *New Leader,* Adolf A. Berle, Jr. inflates a trial balloon of enormous consequence. Mr. Berle was there to introduce a special supplement on the Captive Nations. Before he was through, he had proposed—and Mr. Berle speaks as a director and chief mentor of the Free Europe Committee—what amounts to a new doctrine, to replace that of unconditional liberation, which he so long espoused.

Mr. Berle's thesis is more or less the following: It could be that the death of Stalin has disposed the Soviet Union to view its position vis-à-vis Western Europe in a more traditional light. The new Soviet leaders may be disposed to react to the rest of the world not as do-or-die revolutionaries, but as orthodox competitors, anxious to make, and prepared to settle for, orthodox economic and political gains. Such leadership, unlike that of Stalin, will make realistic concessions in the national interest, provided the West, in turn, acts reasonably.

Mr. Berle is "convinced" that we shall see the "mighty people" of the captive nations "free once more." What may prove to be necessary to bring about that freedom is the permanent demilitarization, by common consent, of the entire central zone of "mid-Europe." We might profitably follow the lead of Finland, says Mr. Berle—a demilitarized nation which, since the war, has been "an asset to the free world—and no threat to Russia."

Adolf Berle brings to his proposals a record of longtime and sometimes valiant opposition to Communist imperialism. His ideas, under the circum-

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stances, have considerable leverage on anti-Communist policy. In this case, it seems to us, that influence is to be regretted. For from a number of points of view his analysis is faulty, and dangerously so.

To begin with, he applies to the present situation the traditional and, in our time, anachronistic concept of a European balance of power as the best guarantee of peace. He talks as though a three-hundred-mile wide *cordon sanitaire* can, these days, in fact serve to insulate somebody from something.

In suggesting that the Soviet Union is prepared to liberate the captive nations and to accept politically hostile, although not militarily threatening, nations as neighbors, Mr. Berle makes a major miscalculation of a kind the Communists would be quick to exploit, given the opportunity, in their psychological war of nerves.

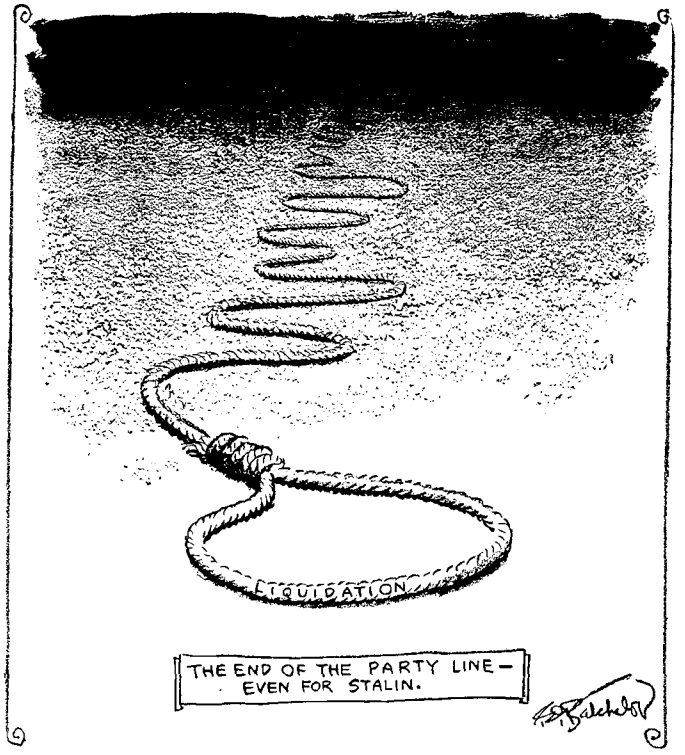
Let it be said again and again and again: The motive power of Communism is still there, in all its strength, in all its guile, in all its passion. When the leaders of the Soviet Union abandon their goal of world conquest (i.e., abandon Communism), their deviation will be unmistakably clear. World recognition of their reconsecration will not depend on the accidental acuity of shrewd Western analysts.

The able and informed Mr. Berle, in short, is better off restating truths about Communism, which he has comprehended so well, than competing with George Kennan in seductive daydreaming.

Working with Communists?

A correspondent asks whether NATIONAL REVIEW takes the position that there are no conceivable circumstances under which one might traffic with an active Communist, and even pay him for the privilege. The question is a searching one, provoked, no doubt, by the Fund for the Republic's retention of Earl Browder.

Our attitude toward the Fund is not ambiguous. There is every reason to doubt the capacity of Mr. Hutchins (or of those who have advised him in the past few years) to end up having got more out of a Communist with whom he consorts than the Communist will get out of him. Just the same, we tend to think it unwise to take a doctrinaire position that a researcher—whether an agent of the Central Intelligence, a fiction writer, or even, God help us, a sociologist—cannot *in the nature of things* advance our knowledge of the Communist conspiracy by conversing with a Communist. Needless to say, a working relationship with a Communist must be entered into in full realization of its gravity, of the possibility of contamination. Above all, it must be recognized that no dutiful Communist, for his part, would consent to such relationship except in the confident expectation that, as the result of it, in some way the cause of the Revolution would be served.



NATIONAL REVIEW is not, we hastily add, paving the way for an announcement that we have a Communist on the payroll, whom we are engaged in exploiting. We have, on the other hand, seriously considered hiring an executive of the Fund for the Republic to probe, in the interest of public enlightenment, the workings of his own mind. Only we cannot afford it.

End of the Lozenge

As our readers know, we habitually deplore the egalitarian trends in contemporary society, and turn a deaf ear to statist pleas on behalf of the downtrodden. We are usually allergic to slogans that exploit the word "parity." But we keep an open mind and an open heart, and when the editor of *Debrett's Peerage* tells us that "heraldically, women are still treated as chattels of their husbands," and "are still debarred from displaying their arms on shield," we cannot hesitate. NATIONAL REVIEW is *for* what the aforesaid editor calls "heraldic parity," and *against* any state of affairs in which women, all of whom (except borderline cases like La Boca Grande) we believe to be conservatives at heart, must show their arms "on diamond-shaped devices, heraldically termed lozenges." Men, whom we deem unreliable politically, can display theirs even on their workday shields. Down, say we, with that badge of inferiority, the hated lozenge!

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Senator Wiley Repudiated

The contention that Dwight Eisenhower has "made over" the Republican Party in the image of the Liberal faction that secured his nomination remains arguable. The domination of the national Administration by the Party's Liberal wing is, of course, complete and unchallenged. But the situation at local levels, and in particular at local levels in the Midwest, is more complicated. There is not, to be sure, the slightest chance of important defections from the national Party ticket. But there is evidence of widespread dissent from Administration policies, as well as an abiding resentment against the Party's current national leadership.

Dissent and resentment are definitely in an "undercurrent" phase as of now, and are due to remain so for the balance of the election year. But the undercurrent is responsible for the following surface conditions:

—a surprising lack of enthusiasm among local GOP groups for the "Eisenhower program"—and, even more surprising under the circumstances, for Mr. Eisenhower himself;

—a dogged, almost perverse, determination by many of these groups to go on record as favoring measures which the Eisenhower Administration is either flatly opposed to, or has expressed itself ambiguously about;

—a reluctance to support Party candidates who have been Administration toadies.

The point here is not that the Republican Party is a conservative party; but rather that conservatism has somehow survived within the party, and shows signs of living on long enough to give the Liberals some trouble when they no longer have Mr. Eisenhower.

Last week's GOP convention in Wisconsin furnished relevant evidence on the point. The big news, of course, was the convention's emphatic rejection of Senator Wiley's bid for official Party endorsement of his renomination for candidacy. Wiley was defeated, in the main, because of his unqualified support of the Administration's foreign policies. The senior Senator's refusal in 1954 to take a stand on the McCarthy censure was also a factor.

The Liberal press has sought to minimize the significance of Wiley's convention setback by reminding its readers that Wiley—a three-time winner in Wisconsin—has "always been unpopular with the Party organization," and that this year he "did not expect to get the convention's backing." The facts are that Wiley never before failed to get the convention's endorsement, and that this year, since his opposition was divided among four candidates, he was expected to win until the moment the balloting began. The convention's last-minute decision to rally around the standard of Rep. Glenn Davis, who had not been a candidate, indicates how determined Party regulars were to repudiate Senator Wiley's record.

Convention endorsement in Wisconsin does not mean the nomination. Davis must still beat Wiley in the September primary; but this is now a likely prospect with the organizational and financial backing that the convention's endorsement invariably brings.

But there was other important evidence of "grass-roots" conservatism:

—The convention's keynote speaker, Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield, was coolly received. Summerfield's indiscriminate panegyric of Eisenhower ("that towering figure," the "greatest leadership since Lincoln") seemed to embarrass the delegates, and drew only perfunctory applause. Only once did Summerfield manage to provoke an enthusiastic response; and then the successful prop was Nixon's name, not Eisenhower's.

—The convention saved its noisiest and warmest reception for a brief appearance by Senator Joseph McCarthy. And there were other indications that McCarthy retains most, perhaps all, of his former power. McCarthy probably took a neutral position in the fight over Wiley's seat. But his friends behind the scenes—notably Tom Coleman and Wayne Hood—set the stage for the Davis endorsement.

—The convention also backed the Bricker Amendment, demanded that Red China be kept out of the UN, condemned current U.S. policy permitting strategic trade with the Communists, boisterously applauded former Rep. Kersten's attack on the U.S. foreign aid program.

The House Committee on Foreign Affairs has recommended a new approach to the financing of U. S. foreign policies. Hereafter, the Committee suggests, the Administration ought to include all requests for foreign *military* aid in the regular U. S. defense budget. The suggestion is sensible, and is already getting a favorable reaction on Capitol Hill.

The Executive branch has always insisted that the defense of the U. S. and the defense of U. S. allies are a single strategic operation. That being the case, the Committee observes, why shouldn't Congress have the opportunity to evaluate the overall problem of the free world's defense as a single budgetary problem? For on the theory that funds available for defense are—somewhere in the stratosphere—unlimited, the relevant question for most Congressmen is: How can x dollars be apportioned most effectively to combat the Soviet military threat?

Take the case of the 3.5 billion dollars of unspent military aid funds the Administration has earmarked principally for Western Europe. Let us suppose this, for example: A single congressional committee is reconsidering how that money can be spent most profitably, and has before it: a) evidence that NATO countries are dragging their feet to such an extent that successful resistance to a Soviet invasion is unlikely in the foreseeable future; and b) General LeMay's authoritative testimony that, judging by present production plans, the Soviet Union will have twice as many long-range bombers as the U. S. by 1959, and will, by that time, be able to destroy the U. S. "by a complete surprise attack." Asked to weigh those facts, is it not likely to report out a bill *directing* that said 3.5 billions be used to build long-range bombers?

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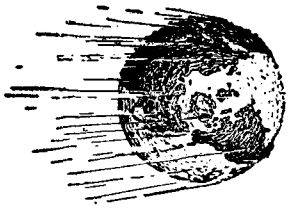

The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

The Campaign of Legitimization

To: Director, Intelligence Section
From: Resident Chief, U. S. Sector
Subject: Progress Report, Legitimization Campaign

In accordance with the special directive of 1 Jan. 1956, supplementing world strategy resolution "Geneva" (15 March 1955), the local apparatus continues to concentrate on the objective of *legitimization*. For the guidance of our cadres, this objective has been defined as follows: "To gain acceptance of the U. S. Communist Party and U. S. Communists as legitimate elements of the U. S. community, in local application of the international campaign to gain acceptance of the Soviet Union and world Communism as legitimate elements of the world community."

Progress for the first five months of the calendar year has exceeded all estimates. We here summarize results in specific fields.

1. *Courts.* All important 1956 Court decisions, except for the sustaining of the immunity law, have been in our favor. The Slochower case removes the stigma from our comrades who were ordered to plead the Fifth Amendment. Because of the Supreme Court order to review the hearings, the Party need not register as a subversive organization. The Steve Nelson decision smashes the state's sedition laws, and has already led to the dismissal of indictments in Massachusetts. We have won many new allies for the moves to invalidate federal laws directed against us. On 25 May, for example, the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers voted unanimously for repeal of "the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Communist Control Act of 1954."

2. *Security Regulations.* Revisions of security rules in major branches of the government (including the Atomic Energy Commission and the military services) favor our comrades who are already in place and those whom we wish to send in. Following the recommendation of a committee of consulting scientists, Communism is no longer to be regarded as a bar to research grants.

Universities Pave the Way

3. *Universities.* The universities have taken the lead in re-establishing the propriety of the appearance of Communists on all platforms. We note the outstanding public effect of the address of Comrade H. Aptheker at the University of Minnesota, and of Alger Hiss at Princeton. The annual meeting of the principal organization of university teachers, the American Association of University Professors, affirmed the right of Communists to teach.

4. *The Labor Movement.* Legitimization in the labor movement means the re-entry of our separately controlled unions into the official (AFL-CIO) organization. This has been accomplished on easy terms in the case of the Brooklyn painters, the fur workers, office workers, agricultural workers and other smaller groups. Obstacles have developed in the case of the packing house and electrical workers. These are being overcome by our new crash program under which our remaining separate unions are directly liquidated into the AFL-CIO set-up, without waiting for formal mergers.

5. *Emergence from Underground.* Led by Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, many comrades who were fugitives from the law have given themselves up and thus reintegrated themselves into the normal social process. Echelons 4B and 5B, held undercover for the past six years, are beginning to operate publicly again, 4B as avowed members and 5B as aggressive sympathizers. (The deeper echelons remain strictly underground, pursuant to instructions.)

6. *Auxiliary Organizations.* Auxiliaries ("fronts") are again being pushed forward, and are attracting expanding notice and support. Prominent individuals who had shied away since Korea are back on our lists. The Morton Sobell operation, besides its coup in winning Bertrand Russell, has signed up ministers, rabbis, scientists, lawyers, etc., including professors from the universities of California, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Yale, North Carolina and Minnesota, along with Elmer Davis, Harold Urey, Lewis Mumford, Linus Pauling (Nobel Prize scientist) and Judge Edward Totten. A declaration asserting that a plea of the Fifth Amendment is not a bar to teaching has been signed by many of the same persons plus others from the universities of Columbia, Rutgers, New York, Illinois, Iowa, Stanford, Tennessee and Washington.

On 27 May our comrades (Party Secretary Eugene Dennis and W. E. B. DuBois) spoke in New York's Carnegie Hall on "America's Road to Democracy and World Peace," as equal participants along with the Socialist Norman Thomas and the minister A. J. Muste (head of the Fellowship of Reconciliation), under the chairmanship of the Director Emeritus of the American Civil Liberties Union, Roger Baldwin.

7. *Arts and Entertainment.* Our musicians have been received with triumph. Comrade David Oistrakh is being publicized as the world's greatest violinist, and his phonograph records are everywhere best-sellers. The fad for drinking vodka, carefully nurtured by our cadres, has caught on, and is helping to humanize attitudes toward both Russia and Communism.

8. *Social Security.* New rulings have established the right of Communists to receive social security payments on the same basis as all citizens.

U. S. resistance to the legitimization campaign has been below calculations. It is largely confined to: Congress; the Meany wing of the AFL-CIO; uninfluential refugee and anti-Communist circles; a few sections of the press, where it is usually contradicted by all-out support of Eisenhower. Although ineffectual at present, these resistance pockets might develop. We therefore recommend more vigorous measures, drawing on the lessons of the anti-McCarthy operation, to sterilize them.

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Foreign Trends . . . w.s.

Europe Assumes a U.S.-Soviet Alliance

The Old World, always seeking a rationale for surrender to the Communist assault, thinks it has finally found a good one. The talk in European chancelleries, and among those wiseacres whose business it is to know whence the wind is blowing, is about "the U.S.-Soviet alliance"—an alliance, mind you, not in the making but actually signed and sealed!

To Americans, who are still in the habit of seeing in Mr. Eisenhower an incorruptible anti-Communist, such talk must smack of insanity. To Europeans, who are accustomed to the most fantastic turnabouts of power politics, a U.S.-Soviet alliance is just as feasible as, say, the Stalin-Hitler Pact. And the talk of the U.S.-Soviet alliance is no longer confined to whispers in salons and cafés. It is breaking into print.

First, as always in important anti-American campaigns, came *Le Monde* of Paris. The paper recalled America's profound allergy against colonialism, and on this recollection it based the prognosis that the U.S. would soon make common cause in Africa with the other traditionally anti-colonial power, the Soviet Union. Which, concluded *Le Monde,* would leave France terribly alone in Algeria, actively opposed by the world's two greatest powers.

This, to *Le Monde* and the fast growing camp of French neutralists, looked like a promising intellectual gambit for surrender—not only to the Moslems in Algeria, but to the Red embrace in Europe. The opening shot was followed (on May 3) by an exposé which made everybody in Europe think that *Le Monde* was merely amplifying intelligence in possession of the French foreign office: According to *Le Monde,* Secretary Dulles had informed "certain circles" that the U.S. would be entirely satisfied with "a Titoist Poland and a Titoist Czechoslovakia." Moreover, Dulles is alleged to have told the same nondescript "circles" that the U.S. Government was willing to accept any "National Communism" à la Tito as "a genuinely neutral force."

If true, these confidential assurances of Secretary Dulles' would indeed provide a working formula for a straight U.S.-Soviet rapprochement and even a U.S.-Soviet alliance. For, once the U.S. has recognized a "Titoist" Poland and Czechoslovakia as definitive proof of the Kremlin's good will, nothing would be in the way of a final U.S.-Soviet deal. Now Europeans "in the know" are persuaded that such a deal has been virtually achieved and that only the forthcoming election campaign prevents the Eisenhower Administration from publicly boasting of the feat.

The European press makes the most of every bit of news that seems to bear out this thesis—and such news is coming thick and fast. Harold Stassen's cryptic optimism about disarmament; the "greatly welcomed" invitation of the highest American brass to a Soviet air-force show; the semi-official talk that the U.S. would reciprocate such an invitation—all this looks to Europeans like evidence of a determined U.S. policy.

The German press has joined the hysterical French speculations. Hamburg's *Der Spiegel,* for instance, headlined (on May 16) a story about diplomatic European developments with the shattering phrase, "The American-Soviet Alliance."

Der Spiegel, discussing the strange quiet around Quemoy and the Matsus, saw in the virtual "neutralization" of Formosa the most important symptom of a U.S.-Soviet deal-in-the-making. "The question has been practically written off in world politics. This success," concludes *Der Spiegel,* "is feasible only as the consequence of a tacit or secret agreement between the U.S. and the USSR."

Furthermore, adds the paper, Dag Hammarskjold's success in mediating the Arab-Israeli conflict "can be explained in no other way than with a previously achieved agreement between Washington and Moscow." And *Der Spiegel,* too, identifies a Dulles statement as the formula for the U.S.-Soviet rapprochement. "Neutralism," it quotes Mr. Dulles, "can now be considered a secure and even promising course."

Thus, Europe assumes that the Eisenhower Administration has entered into a deal with the Soviets by which the space between the U.S. and the Soviet Union is to be "neutralized." And Europeans have no illusions about such "neutralization." It would simply mean that nature's *horror vacui* would soon let the Soviet Union pour its force into the emptied space.

But Europe is too small, and the European politicians too greedy, to wait stoically for such a natural end. The slightest suspicion of a forthcoming U.S.-Soviet rapprochement will, of necessity, so strengthen the local appeasers that saner men will jump on the bandwagon.

The Eden Cabinet seems to have done considerably more business with K. & B. than was first publicly admitted. Mollet and Pineau returned from Moscow only the more ready to live by the grace of the French Communists. Adenauer's powers are slowly collapsing under the pressure of a Social Democratic opposition that is rushing into the "dialogue" with the Kremlin.

Japan's Mood: "Hopeful"

How this Administration's foreign policy is faring in Japan has been well stated by a friend of the U.S.

Dr. Urs Schwarz, editor of the *Swiss Review of World Affairs* and the *Neue Zurcher Zeitung* (two of the world's most solidly conservative papers) has just returned from a long stay in Asia. And he reports in the May *Swiss Review*:

> Japan has great hopes that in a foreseeable future the U.S. will relax the embargos [against Red China]. . . . The idea that the regime of Formosa could ever return to the mainland, or that it even could survive Chiang Kai-shek, is smiled upon by the Japanese. Although certain relations are maintained with Formosa, that regime has been written off long ago.

The State Department, of course, will deny that this prevailing Japanese opinion has anything to do with the word our diplomats are surreptitiously spreading in Asia. The denial may impress the electorate at home. It won't be believed abroad.

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Freedom to Join or Starve

The Supreme Court, which in 1914 held that the Bill of Rights protected the right to work, in 1956 finds that Congress has the power to withdraw that right

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

"We have come full circle," wrote Justice Frankfurter, "from the point of view in the Adair case. There the railroads . . . successfully resisted an Act of Congress which outlawed what colloquially became known as the 'yellow-dog contract.' We are now asked to declare it beyond the power of Congress to authorize railroads to enter into voluntary agreements with the unions to which the overwhelming proportion of railway employees belong whereby all their workers are required to belong to such unions . . ."

Justice Frankfurter was writing a concurring opinion in the case of the *Railway Employees Dept., AFL,* v *Robert L. Hanson et al. and Union Pacific Railroad Co.*

In stating that the Court had come full circle since the Adair case, the Justice was right. In 1908 it had upheld the railroad companies in refusing to employ union members. In 1956 it upheld the unions in forcing membership on unwilling workers as a condition of employment.

But when Mr. Frankfurter spoke of "voluntary" agreements between the railroads and the unions, he must have had his tongue in his cheek. The court had before it evidence that the Union Pacific had resisted the union shop contract and had entered into it only to avoid a ruinous strike. Indeed, the evidence showed that after Congress, in 1951, amended the Railway Labor Act to permit the union shop—even in those states where it is illegal—the railroad companies resisted signing union shop contracts and capitulated only under pressure from the National Mediation Board and an Emergency Board appointed by the President. The ensuing contracts were voluntary only on the part of the unions; the companies acted under duress, and Mr. Frankfurter of course knew it.

Why did the roads resist? According to the record, they believed that Congress, in conceding the unions' demand for captive members, had in effect deprived their employees of their constitutional right to decide freely whether or not they wished to join, and pay tribute to, private organizations. They also objected to being forced to discharge loyal employees for no other reason than that they refused to become union members. They knew that discharge might mean permanent unemployment of workers too old to find other jobs easily or to begin at the bottom in other industries (railway employment being closed to them by the unions). They respected the seniority, retirement, pension and other rights which these workers would be forced to sacrifice; and they also considered that they had, themselves, a vested interest in the skill and experience of these employees.

The Supreme Court did not share the concern of the railroad companies for the constitutional rights of these workers.

When a Liberty is Precious

The Hanson case was one of several in litigation as a result of the amendment of the Railway Labor Act. The Constitution of Nebraska, where the case originated, makes it illegal to force a worker either to join or *not* to join a union as a condition of employment. Robert L. Hanson *et al.* challenged the power of Congress to override this provision for the benefit of the railway unions, on the ground that in doing so it had violated the Bill of Rights. The Nebraska Supreme Court affirmed the trial court's decision for the plaintiffs, whereupon the unions appealed to the Supreme Court. The importance of the case was emphasized in the filing of *amici curiae* briefs by eight states, several other petitioners and various organizations including the AFL-CIO, the NAM, and 500 union and nonunion workers who oppose the union shop.

The Court's decision in effect gives railway workers a free choice between joining the unions and joining the unemployed. It was written by Justice William O. Douglas. Ironically, several briefs submitted invoked these words of Justice Douglas:

> The right to work, I had assumed, was the most precious liberty that man possesses. Man has indeed as much right to work as he has to live, to be free, to own property. . . . To work means to eat. It also means to live. For many it would be better to work in jail, than to sit idle on the curb. . . .

Justice Douglas expressed these moving libertarian sentiments in 1954, in dissenting from a Court decision upholding the New York courts in confirming suspension of a Communist doctor's license to practice medicine because he had been convicted of a crime. Of course, Robert L. Hanson *et al.* are American workingmen—neither Communists nor criminals.

In 1956 the right to work is not so precious a liberty. It has become subordinate to congressional *policy.* So says Justice Douglas, and so say the other eight members of the Supreme Court. To be sure, an earlier court had said:

> . . . In so far as a man is deprived of the right to labor, his liberty is restricted, his capacity to earn wages and acquire property is lessened, and he is denied the protection which the law affords those who are permitted to work. Liberty means more than freedom from servitude, and the constitutional guaranty [the Fourteenth Amendment] is an assurance that the citizen shall be protected in the right to use his powers of mind and body in any lawful calling.

That, of course, was written in 1914, before the Court had "come full circle."

In the Hanson case the unions con-

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ceded that if government action was involved in the imposition of union shop contracts, the union shop statute must be held unconstitutional. Their argument was that Congress had merely *permitted* the union shop and that the contracts themselves, as agreements between private parties—the unions and the companies (which mind you, signed under government duress)—could not be challenged under the Bill of Rights. And the Court, in its decision, declared: "The union shop provision of the Railway Labor Act is only permissive."

Coercive Permission

There was a mass of evidence before the Court proving that Congress knew, when it amended the Act to "permit" the open shop, that the permission amounted to coercion. Indeed, the decision quoted Senator Hill, who managed the bill on the floor of the Senate:

> The question in this instance is whether those who enjoy the fruits and the benefits of the unions should make a fair contribution to the support of the unions.

This sounds like more than a mere congressional intention to permit. And indeed it was. The evidence before the Supreme Court showed that the railway unions demanded the union shop amendment for one purpose, about which they were completely frank. That purpose was to force nonunion workers to join, not merely because the unions wanted their dues but because they wanted disciplinary power over those workers—and over their own members, who were free to resign in the absence of a union-shop contract. Senator Hill was referring to their disingenuous "free-rider" argument.

What is a "free rider"? He is a man who, although he does not belong to the union elected as bargaining agent in his shop, is obliged by federal law to permit that union to represent him. The evidence before the Court showed that the unions had demanded and obtained from Congress the right to represent nonunion workers or members of other unions, as well as their own members, in dealing with the employers. This provision, depriving non-members of the majority union of their right to bargain for themselves, is embodied in both the Railway Labor and Taft-Hartley Acts. It is a privilege which tremendously increases union power. This fact the Court itself had recognized in an earlier case, cited in the briefs before it:

> . . . Because of the necessity to have strong unions to bargain on equal terms with strong employers, individual employees are *required by law to sacrifice rights which, in some cases, are valuable to them. . . . The loss of individual rights for the greater benefit of the group* [sic] *results in a tremendous increase in the power of the representative of the group—the union.* (Italics added)

This clearly defined privilege the unions proceeded to use as an argument for the further privilege of forcing all workers to join in order to work. Those whom the law forced to sacrifice their individual rights, the

Justice William O. Douglas

unions dubbed "free riders", and declared that they were receiving the benefits of union bargaining without paying their share of the costs.

A cowardly and dishonest Congress accepted this falsification, and gave the unions what they wanted. All this was before the Court when it said:

> While nonunion members got the benefits of the collective bargaining of the unions, they bore no share of the cost of obtaining such benefits.

The Court proceeded:

> Industrial peace along the arteries of commerce is a legitimate objective and Congress has great latitude in choosing the methods by which it is to be obtained. The choice by the Congress of the Union Shop as a stabilizing force seems to us to be an allowable one.

Obviously the Court did not agree with the unions that "if there is government action here, the Union Shop statute must be declared unconstitutional." The unions might have spared themselves the trouble of devising their "two-step" argument. The question, said the Court, "is one of policy with which the judiciary has no concern. . . What would be needful one decade might be anathema the next. The decision rests with the policy-makers, not with the judiciary."

And if the policy-makers violate constitutional rights, to hell with the Constitution? "The question remains whether the long-range interests of workers would be better served by one type of union agreement or another. That question is germane to the exercise of power under the Commerce Clause—a power that often has the quality of police regulations."

The Court's view reminds one uncomfortably of the police state, which also decides what is good for the workers, then hog-ties recalcitrants and turns them over to be "disciplined"—only not to private organizations.

Conditions Approved

The Court then proceeds to consider the conditions of union membership, as authorized by Congress, namely: "the payment of periodic dues, fees and assessments."

> The assessments that may be lawfully imposed do not include 'fines and penalties.' The financial support required relates, therefore, to the work of the union in the realm of collective bargaining. . . .

Before the Court was evidence that Congress set no limit whatever on the assessments which unions might levy on their members. It also had evidence that union dues and assessments have been used for other purposes than union overhead, among others the following:

$9,125 from the Teamsters to a Jesuit school in Seattle.

$200,000 from the CIO to the National Council of Churches in America.

$1,000,000 from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to build a hospital in Israel.

$120,434.56 from the UAW-CIO to the CIO Political Action Committee from June 1, 1950 to May 31, 1951.

An expenditure of $2,611,980.05 by the UAW for the 12 months period

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ending December 31, 1954. This whole amount came from union dues and was used to promote political campaigns of the Democratic Party.

Some of these contributions may have gone to worthy causes; but it cannot be contended that they had any relation to union overhead. They meant, simply, that the money of Christian workers was presented to Jewish charities, and vice versa; and that Republican workers were assessed by their unions for the benefit of Democratic candidates.

With all this evidence before it, the Court could say:

> . . . if the exaction of union dues is used as a cover for forcing ideological conformity or other action in contravention of the First Amendment, this judgment will not prejudice the decision in that case. . . . We only hold that the requirement for financial support of the collective bargaining agency by all who receive the benefits of its work [*sic*] is within the power of Congress under the Commerce Clause and does not violate either the First or Fifth Amendments.

It is a safe bet that "captive riders" who will now be forced to join up, pay up and undergo union "discipline" will not bother this particular Court with any further violation of their constitutional rights. In effect they have said to the Court: "Here are the unfair and unconstitutional penalties with which we are being threatened"; and the Court in effect has answered, "Incur the penalties and then we'll see what we can do for you. But Congress may legally turn you over to the unions and delegate to them the power to tax you."

One is forced to conclude from this decision that the Court had two objectives: to strike down state laws where they conflict with congressional fiat, and to uphold the power of the unions. In Mr. Dooley's day the Court may have followed the election returns. Now it follows the Liberal line.

Mr. Sam Jones last week said in his Washington column that the labor unions were disappointed by the decision; they had hoped the Court would invalidate the state right-to-work laws; whereas it merely declared them superseded under the Supremacy Clause. The Court has upheld these laws in two comparatively recent decisions. And the Labor tycoons should know it takes time for the Court to "come full circle."

Across the Continent

Victory for Eisenhower Seems Assured Because Democratic Candidates Offer Poor Competition

SAM M. JONES

There is a school of political thought which declares that "you can't beat somebody with nobody." Mr. Eisenhower is somebody. His potential opponent on the Democratic ticket is Mr. Nobody. Stevenson, Harriman, Kefauver, Symington, Lyndon Johnson—they're just nobodies on the big time. There are many Republicans who feel that Ike lacks the qualities which his office demands, but they will vote for him against nobody.

Traveling across the continent, I found this: "With Eisenhower we have peace and prosperity. Why change it? What have the Democrats got to offer that is better?" Ike looks good because of the quality of his competition. You can't beat somebody with nobody. Mr. Stevenson is literate, perceptive, subtle at times, but his intellectual qualities are a handicap. To the voter he is supercilious, superior perhaps, but that in itself is an affront to the electorate. Mr. Kefauver, on the other hand, is as common as anyone could wish. But the voters would like to respect their President. Kefauver may satisfy the hillbillies of Tennessee but he doesn't meet the minimum standards of the politicians of his own Party. Averell Harriman is a man of great wealth, ego and ambition. But the public demands a sense of humor in a Presidential candidate and Mr. Harriman is devoid of that quality. He is the ne plus ultra in stuffed shirts. "Stu" Symington offers mediocrity at its best. As a compromise candidate, he could serve the purposes of the Convention. Whether he could carry his native state of Missouri against Eisenhower is another question.

Lyndon Johnson, like Dick Nixon, is an opportunist. He is a man of considerable capacity and as minority and majority leader of the Senate he has demonstrated the effectiveness of the art of compromise. Like Ike, he has a "heart condition," but as in Ike's case, it is supposed to have been cured.

Governor Lausche of Ohio is the ablest man in the Democratic stable. He could give Ike a race if he could get over the hurdle of the nomination. But he is a Catholic, he is anti-Big Labor, he is a conservative. That eliminates him.

Scraping the bottom of the barrel, there are Governor Meyner of New Jersey and Governor Leader of Pennsylvania. They have as much to offer as Symington. But could either of them win?

Not since 1928 has the Democratic Party been so bankrupt of Presidential possibilities. In that year the Houston Convention awarded the nomination to Alfred E. Smith, with the certainty that he couldn't be elected. And that seems to be the prevailing opinion of professional politicians about the chances of the Party today. As one of the leaders expressed it to me. "We will sit this one out. Eisenhower will be re-elected. But four years from now there will be a pay-off—just as there was in '32. The Eisenhower cult will have run its course and there will be competitive opportunity again."

I believe that typifies the conscious or subconscious thinking of the professional Democratic politicians. There are exceptions, of course, including the purblind candidates who believe that, despite the odds, miracles can happen. There is one factor and one only that brings this wishful thinking within the realm of possibility: the question of the durability of prosperity. A depression would mitigate against Ike's popularity.

Anything can happen between now and November, but at the present moment Mr. Eisenhower has the election by the tail with a downhill pull. We aren't in a fighting war and there is butter on the table. What more do you want? Honor, self-respect, greatness, the restoration of the American Republic? Brother, you're shooting at the moon. Instead we have a package deal: Eisenhower, peace and prosperity; somebody against nobody. You can't beat it.

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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Left at the Post

In the course of a typical week, the Liberal propaganda machine's dearly-beloved *New York Post*:

—Agitated furiously over alleged rough treatment of the Administration's foreign-aid bill by the House Foreign Affairs Committee: "the committee dealt a blow to the nation's prestige . . . and impaired its ability to lead the community of free nations."

—Blamed the committee's "shameful performance" partly on Dulles, partly on Eisenhower: Dulles had invited "complacency and relaxation" in foreign-aid matters by calling the "Soviet shift in tactics and policies" a great American victory; Eisenhower had "failed to dramatize the need for a bold new approach. . . ."

—Added a leaf to Clinton Rossiter's book (see p. 20) with the following hitherto-unrevealed amendment to the Constitution: "the President in addition to his other responsibilities is also the supreme educator of the American people."

—Deplored the hydrogen bomb recently dropped from a U.S. plane: the operation was, to be sure, a "huge technical success," but "an extravaganza of American power . . . is exactly what wasn't called for at this juncture," since a) "nobody doubts our military power," and b) the "margin of advantage" in this "gruesome contest" has ceased to have any meaning, and c) "the world is crying not for bigger bombs but for more bread," and d) such actions merely "play into the hands of the Communists."

—Told the Monmouth County (N.J.) Medical Society a thing or two for its own good: its "intransigence" in halting "the Salk vaccination schedule for 700 children and pregnant women" will cost it dearly; millions of parents remember bitterly what happened last year, when the "superstitions of 'free enterprise,'" as applied to the vaccine, produced a "national scandal"; the Society's "blood oath" against free distribution will "intensify their bitterness."

—Took off into the bright blue yonder over the Stevenson-Kefauver television debate: enemies of the two men in their own party, like the "masterminds of the GOP," had hoped for "blood on the screen"; instead, "the areas of agreement [between them] were so wide that they totally overshadowed the parenthetical differences"; both men showed that they "grasped the central issue of our time"—the "need for . . . unconventional programs to confront the awesome terrors of the atomic age"; no better combination is imaginable than a "Stevenson-Kefauver ticket."

—Worked itself up into a lather partly over Deputy Assistant Howard Pyle's "bloodless words" in Detroit, partly over the alleged fact that he was *smiling* when he uttered them; made clear to its readers that it does *not* think "the right to suffer is one of the joys of a free economy," and that *it*, at least, understands about the "human suffering and frustration now shadowing the homes of the idle auto workers," and sympathizes with them with all its heart; indulged the comment that the "real nature" of an Administration "is often best revealed in the parenthetically callous remark"; and demanded that the government recognize "that individual human agony produced by industrial anarchy [i.e., seasonal unemployment] is inexcusable in this age of American plenty."

—Expressed mild indignation over the omission, from the President's legislative "must" list, of three "heralded key measures" on civil rights: 1) that prohibiting states from interfering with the right to vote; 2) that "permitting civil rights cases to be taken directly to court"; 3) that permitting the Attorney General to bring civil rights cases in behalf of aggrieved persons; scored Assistant Press Secretary Snyder's comments, which did indeed imply that these measures are not "necessary"; coined a phrase ("who's kidding whom?"—"whom," mind you, not "who") to put Mr. Snyder, as also a Justice Department spokesman who had expressed "surprise and dismay" at the "fateful omissions," in their respective places.

—Called the National Academy of Sciences on the carpet about its study of "the effects of atomic radiation"; noted that the Academy had told *Post* reporter Bob Spivak "a preliminary report may be ready in 60 or 90 days," but the full inquiry may take ten years; gallantly conceded the "complexities of the assignment," but told the Academy in so many words that "a decade is a very long interval of waiting to find out whether mankind is currently destroying itself"; left this reader anyhow under the impression that if the Academy doesn't get going the *Post's* editors may step in and untie these research knots themselves.

—Predicted that Nixon "will say virtually nothing until officially nominated," and upon emerging from "the land of silence" will be a "new man"; noted that Nixon will thus avoid comment on the operations of pal [Nixon's pal, of course, not Mr. Chief Justice Warren's] Murray Chotiner; deplored the Vice President's alleged capacity to transform himself in response to current political exigencies; then gave the Democrats, presumably for free, a devastating campaign slogan: "Dicky is tricky."

—Returned, at week's end, to the ever-fascinating, never-exhausted topic of foreign aid (if the House really does cut the Administration's proposed aid program, "we are in deep trouble"); in no mood, by now, to spare *anyone* who opposes increased aid, trained its guns on the "Democratic Congressional chieftains," who refuse to heed "the economic time-bombs ticking in Asia and Africa": "They do not appear to know what kind of program they want; they [unlike, of course, Stevenson and Kefauver] produce no novel ideas; they are making no effort to unify their ranks behind any plan or principle."

—Sounded, in a word, very pleased with its own deep insights and its own lofty sentiments, and oozed humorless confidence that its highly select readership would be pleased too.

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Spain in the U. S. Balance Sheet

A geopolitical expert, now living in Spain, weighs the gains and the costs that we may expect from our newest alliance, and figures a solid net profit

J. DERVIN

For the first time in many years the voice of Spain is being heard—and listened to—in the concert of nations. And the government and people of the United States can congratulate themselves, in both senses of the term, that this is true.

As recently as 1946, we must remember, Spain, still weak from the ravages of its 1936-1939 Civil War, was without importance on the European scene. The hand of every country in Europe in which the parties of the Left had triumphed was raised against it. Today, it is one of America's most solid and valuable allies—partly due to its own exertions, but due also, and in very considerable part, to the moral and material help that the United States has given it. Let us examine the value of the Spanish leaf in the portfolio of U.S. alliances.

The Strategic Aspect

By the accords signed in September 1953, Spain authorized the United States, in exchange for economic and military aid, to establish air and naval bases on its territory; and today, in the framework of peripheral defense, these bases have a military value of the first order. Scattered over a territory that is almost as large as France, that includes large uninhabited areas, and is sheltered behind the Pyrenees and other chains of mountains, they afford numerous advantages. They could be used for offensive action; they could serve as a reserve base; or they could become a retreat for American troops stationed in Europe. Thanks to the size of the country, they can be protected and fought for without endangering large cities and industrial centers. And they are serviced by numerous ports which, though some of them are poorly equipped, are admirably situated.

From a strictly military point of view, to be sure, Spain presents certain disadvantages. Its roads are narrow, and many of them are in a bad state of repair. The North-South national highway from Irún to Cádiz will soon be an excellent communication route, and certain other important highways are now undergoing improvements. But there are no secondary roads, so that military convoys in any future war situation would be obliged to keep to the principal highways, and would have no alternative routes were these to be interdicted.

So also with Spain's railways, which twist and turn endlessly and, worse still, are all single-tracked. Likewise, too, with its telephone communications, which are starved for equipment, so that it sometimes takes an entire day to establish telephone contact between two Spanish towns. American factories in Spain have labored mightily to improve the system, but much remains to be done. The big cities are concentrated and compact, thus extremely vulnerable to air attack.

The Spanish army, despite its fine traditions of courage, discipline and endurance, is at best badly equipped. But in an emergency the U.S. could speedily supply the needed matériel (for the most part planes, rolling stock and trucks).

Agriculture and Industry

Spain possesses excellent armament factories, whose equipment is now being modernized. In general, however, its economy has little to offer to the United States. Except for mercury and wolfram, the country produces nothing of prime strategic importance, and is short on raw materials in general. It is essentially agricultural, its prosperity is always at the mercy of the climate, and its production always lags behind its population. Several essential alimentary products, wheat and fats in particular, are continually in short supply; and great forward steps must be taken in irrigation works, in husbandry, and in mechanization, before important reserves could be placed at the disposal of friendly armies.

On the industrial side, the picture is one of general underdevelopment. There is an impressive current effort to build up the steel industry, but this will take several years; and meantime Spain will, as in the past, either import steel or do without it. The mechanical industry, the automobile industry in particular, is largely controlled by foreign interests, and appears to have little future. And Spain's naval shipyards, though numerous, depend on foreign sources not only for sheet iron and motors, but for specialized equipment as well.

Politics

Spain can, on the other hand, hardly be overrated as a political asset. For one thing, there are its relations with Latin America, where its influence and prestige are not unlike those of Great Britain within the Commonwealth. For another thing, there are its relations with the Arab states, to which it is bound by ties of history and friendship which have lately been reinforced by Spanish policy toward the Sultan of Morocco. Spain understood long before France that the latter, by exiling Ben Youssef, was making a martyr and a hero of him, and its immediate recognition of Moroccan independence will, predictably, yield rich dividends of good will throughout the Arab world. (Against them, to be sure, we must set the loss of the Spanish zone of Morocco, a not inconsiderable military asset.)

Moreover, the United States may well be needing, before long, Spain's good offices vis-à-vis the Arab states —where, like it or not, U.S. policy

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toward Israel and the U.S. practice of exacting a quid pro quo for economic aid (now military bases, now oil) have created great resentment.

Finally, Spain can serve as a lever against certain European countries involved in the peripheral defense system of the United States. Concretely, the United States can counter recalcitrance on their part by a glance in the direction of Madrid, where any favors those countries care to forego will be welcomed—and reciprocated.

America's Spanish alliance is, to be sure, costly. Spain is even poorer than the foregoing facts suggest. Its gold and cash reserves vanished during the civil war—the former, in large part, into the USSR and Mexico, where, optimists to the contrary notwithstanding, they are likely to remain in the foreseeable future. And, Spain, dependent as it is on agriculture, cannot earn the foreign exchange it needs in order to pay for indispensable imports.

In 1954, Spain received $85 million of economic aid from the United States. That same year, however, following a bad harvest, it had to withdraw more than $100 million of its meager reserves to be spent on wheat. In 1956, late frosts destroyed the orange and lemon harvests, its principal export crops, to the tune of another $100 million which might have been spent on raw materials and industrial equipment, which might in turn have strengthened its industrial plant and its communications system.

Spain lacks trained personnel. The civil war, we must remember, took a million lives and virtually closed the universities for the duration. The nation's skilled technicians, therefore, are very few and are often obliged to divide their time between various jobs and teaching.

Another handicap to industry, as some American Liberals will learn with surprise, is Spain's highly "advanced" social welfare legislation, which inter alia virtually estops an employer from dismissing a worker—unless he is actually going out of business, or unless the employee has given grave and genuine cause. These enactments give the worker security almost equal to that of a civil servant; they are highly inflexible and, for obvious reasons, discourage risk-taking. They thus make, both directly and indirectly, for higher prices, so that despite current wages of only $1.70 a day, industrial goods are more costly in Spain than in any other Western country.

The major brake on private enterprise, however, is the bureaucracy. It intervenes everywhere—on behalf of corporativism as such, for one thing, and to shore up and increase centralized authority for another. The functionaries are badly paid (the highest grades earn approximately $150 a month), and notoriously do what they do badly and take their time about it. Industrialists and businessmen, if they are to survive at all, must devote most of their time and energy to sheer red tape. For example, it often takes an entire year to get not an import license, but a decision, favorable or unfavorable, on an application for one.

On the fiscal side, the Spanish regime savagely fights inflation. The problem is one of ever-increasing population in a context of ever-deeper industrial and agricultural stagnation, which means that any increase in wages spells greater or lesser disaster —as, of course, the failure to increase wages spells discontent among wider and wider sections of the populace. One ill here compounds another. And on its present ration of aid from abroad, which for practical purposes means from the U.S., Spain cannot extricate itself from its difficulties. Nothing short of massive aid, like that which the first beneficiaries of the Marshall Plan received, could put Spain on its feet. But massive aid *could* turn the trick, and one blushes at the thought of what Spain would be like today had it received any considerable fraction of the money the U.S. has lavished, and continues to lavish, on countries like Italy, France and Yugoslavia, which have powerful Communist movements and may well turn against America one day.

Spain's internal political situation, however, merits careful attention on the part of the United States. General Franco's regime is incontestably stable, and his prestige great. He has to his credit important achievements in many fields—for the most part achievements which, given the marked individualism, not to say anarchy, of the Spanish character, given also the ravages of the civil war, would in my opinion have been impossible in the absence of dictatorial power. But such a regime inevitably wears itself out.

While the country was practically isolated from the rest of the world, that was no problem. But Spain has now opened its gates to tourists and to American military personnel, and during the last two or three years the Spanish have themselves been permitted to travel freely abroad. The country, in consequence, abounds in new ideas and new currents of opinion, one manifestation of which is the recent unrest among university students and workers.

After Franco?

The big question, of course, is: What will happen when General Franco is gone? Can he bequeath dictatorial power to a successor—for example, to one or another of the men whose names are mentioned in this connection? Will Spain go back to the monarchy? If so, will it have another go at constitutional monarchy? Will the king "send," rather, for another Franco? Or will Spain perhaps sink into anarchy? Whatever the answer, the policy of the United States may be decisive, and the problems it must take into account will be extremely delicate.

To sum up: For the U.S. the advantages of its alliance with Spain outweigh any present or potential inconvenience. Thus far American policy has been well conceived and carried out. The U.S. has succeeded in humoring Spanish sensibilities, which are quickly aroused, and its material aid has already produced results. On the other hand, that aid is altogether insufficient. The U.S. would no doubt do better to grant substantial aid for a few years in order to avoid having to keep aid up indefinitely—at the risk of confronting one day a situation too catastrophic to be saved even by the most extreme measures.

No doubt that is what the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs tried to explain during his recent visit to the U.S. And perhaps Washington not only heard, but listened to him.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Campus Bugaboos

When the panty raids were at their most intense, the wife of a well-known professor of history informed her friends that this collegiate phenomenon was a reaction, conscious or subconscious, against McCarthyism. American students, she declared, were so much in dread of public denunciation and secret informers that their frustrated longing for free expression could find vent only in such demonstrations against Demon Conformity.

I hesitate, however, to espouse the doctrine promulgated by the professor's wife. Student organizations quite unabashedly invited Mr. Alger Hiss and Mr. Herbert Aptheker to address them; the student papers certainly are free, not to say licentious; and though I visit some seventy campuses in the course of a year, I have observed no professors and no students quaking with terror at the name of Joseph McCarthy. (As Mr. Sidney Hook suggested recently, it is the *pro*-McCarthy academician who is in a forlorn and proscribed minority on our campuses.)

Yet there certainly is fear among the ritualistic Liberals. A European friend of mine recently remarked to me that American Liberals at present are like the chameleon on the aspen leaf, always trembling, always changing (as John Randolph said of his uncle Edmund Randolph). They take a fearful joy in conjuring up spectres wherewith to haunt the Gothic castles of their imagination. For when one's convictions have trickled away, something must come to occupy the vacuum of the mind; and, rather than confess to themselves the inadequacy of the dim orthodoxy which they still call "liberalism," they prefer to pretend that they say nothing worth listening to only because they are afraid to speak out. "From one end of the country to another," Mr. Leslie Fiedler writes with a melancholy contempt for this mood, "rings the cry, 'I am cowed! I am afraid to speak out!' and the even louder response, 'Look, he is cowed! He is afraid to speak out!'"

A recent instance of this bugaboo-cherishing was a radio-interview of Mrs. Millicent McIntosh, president of Barnard College. Dr. McIntosh was asked whether young people nowadays are more interested in the possibility of serving in governmental posts than they were formerly. Her answer was interesting and complex. Students, she maintained, are afraid to join political parties in the present climate of fear produced by Senator McCarthy and his like; they dread to be identified with Liberal causes lest they be accused of membership in the Communist Party; they find that they are discriminated against, when they seek employment, if they are known as Liberals; and since conservative organizations on campuses have little to offer them, the enterprising talents have sunk into apathy.

Well! It is so pleasant to indulge in these *à priori* vaticinations: it saves the trouble of investigating hard facts and thinking about them. The influence of "liberal" organizations on the campuses certainly is diminishing among the students; but it is dreadfully disagreeable for ritualistic Liberals to entertain the notion, even for a moment, that this decay of influence may result from the arid and disagreeable character of latter-day "liberalism" itself. So it becomes necessary to discover some exterior cause of this defection. There must be a "climate of fear." Naturally, any student in his right mind would be a collectivistic Liberal, if only someone weren't bullying him out of his right to conform to the Liberal orthodoxy. For President McIntosh, as for Humpty Dumpty, someone must be peeping around corners and listening at keyholes. Surely, surely, students can't be abjuring Liberalism simply because they are bored with it? Perish that thought!

I find myself unable to agree with Dr. McIntosh. If there is one thing which college students will not abide, it is smugness. The American Liberals have become dismally smug. They have also become shrill and timorous; for a man may be excessively self-satisfied, and yet fearful that someone will topple him from the seat of the mighty. Now the rising generation rarely is attracted to smug, shrill, and timorous doctrines, or to smug, shrill, and timorous professors. "Prevailing opinions," Disraeli said, "generally are the opinions of the generation that is passing." Many of the more intelligent students today, sensing that ritualistic Liberalism is become stuffily old-hat, have begun to look elsewhere for some set of principles by which to guide themselves. They have not been terrified out of Liberalism; they have been bored out of it.

At Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Queens College, and several other universities and colleges, vigorous Conservative Societies have come into being. At more than one institution, the conservative societies' membership outnumbers all the "liberal" and radical clubs put together.

There is nothing astounding or alarming in this development. It has been going on for more than ten years in Britain. Back in the days of the pacifists' Oxford Oath, Mr. Randolph Churchill was the only member of the Oxford Union who declined to sign that pledge never to fight in defense of one's country. But since the Second World War, the opinions of students at the British universities have undergone a profound alteration. Where once Fabianism and doctrines to the left of Fabianism prevailed, now Conservatism triumphs.

The Conservative Societies in nearly all the British universities (Manchester, where old-fashioned Liberalism still is in the ascendant, is an exception) greatly preponderate over the various radical clubs, and Union debates regularly are won by the Tory students. I am not aware that Joseph McCarthy sits in the House of Lords; and I have yet to find even an extreme American Liberal who will maintain that a "climate of fear" oppresses England. The revived conservatism of American and British students, it seems, is only one facet of

(*Continued on p. 23*)

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Moon-Struck Madness

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Clinton Rossiter sings in this book (*The American Presidency*: Harcourt Brace & Company, $2.95), like Virgil, of arms and the man—of the instruments of power concentrated in the White House, and of each President, from Washington to Eisenhower, who has wielded those powers. His mood is one part ecstasy, evoked by the sheer beauty and efficaciousness of those instruments, and one part adulation, which with even-handed justice he confers upon those Presidents who have enriched the White House armory and smitten the enemy hip and thigh. And his song (which here as in his last book, *Conservatism in America*, frequently echoes the rhetoric and rhythms of the late Harold Laski) is rich in metaphor and gypsy phrase.

Rossiter's avowed purpose is to examine "coolly at a hot time the powers and limits, the strengths and weaknesses, the past and present and future of the American Presidency." "Ecstasy" is, nevertheless, the *mot juste*: the Presidency "unites power, drama, and prestige as does no other office in the world. Its incumbent sits, wherever he sits, at the head of the table." The power of the Presidency "moves as a mighty host . . ."; that power "has not been 'poison,' as Henry Adams wrote in scorn; rather, it has elevated often and corrupted never, chiefly because those who held it recognized the true source of the power and were ennobled by the knowledge." The President enjoys an "aggregate of power that would have made Caesar or Genghis Khan or Napoleon bite his nails with envy."

And "adulation" is the *mot juste* too: "If [the President] is not widely and predictably [?] accused in his own time of subverting the Constitution, he may as well forget about being judged a truly eminent man by future generations." "Franklin Roosevelt . . . must . . . enjoy a long head start toward the eminence he surely wished for in his heart . . . Like [Jackson] he considered the independence of the office to be its most precious asset, like [Theodore Roosevelt] he thought of himself as a steward of the people, like [Lincoln] he made himself a 'constitutional dictator' in time of severe national emergency." Not one—not one, mind you—of Truman's "grave steps in foreign and military affairs . . . has yet been proved wrong, stupid, or contrary to the best judgment and interests of the American people." Truman "defended the integrity of the Presidency against the grand challenge of MacArthur and the sabotage [!] of McCarthy." And as for Eisenhower, who will no doubt learn with relief from Mr. Rossiter that "his times are less exacting than Roosevelt's or Truman's . . ., the kind in which a President may win fame and gratitude but no immortality": "He has very little sense of history to begin with, and even if he had it to the full measure of Harry S. Truman, he is too modest to do an imitation of one of the earthshakers."

In speaking of "smiting the enemy," I use the word "enemy" advisedly. Mr. Rossiter's "great" Presidents are precisely those who have put Congress in its place. His "modern" Presidency is preeminently a Presidency that, because it is "resilient" and "resolute," has "outstripped" Congress (and the Supreme Court as well) in the "long race for power and prestige." The counterpart of his adulation of Presidential power, and of Presidents who edge it along toward omnipotence, is, as we should expect, contempt for Congress. That contempt he loses no opportunity to inculcate upon his readers (who, particularly in our colleges, will be as the sands of the sea).

Congress, he asserts, is a "cumbersome, overstaffed pair of assemblies that speak in a confusion of tongues." The next President to be impeached, Mr. Rossiter predicts "confidently," will have "asked for the extreme medicine by committing a low personal rather than a high political crime—by shooting a Senator, for example." "The imagination goes limp," he cries, "before the thought of what the Presidency would be today"—if the Framers had really succeeded in subordinating the President to the Legislature. And the notion that the President's task is to carry out the policies determined by Congress (or rather, as he characteristically puts it, an "all-wise Congress"), he dismisses as a piece of nineteenth-century Whiggery — than which, one gathers, there could be nothing worse or more ignorant.

Rossiter's major theses are more or less as follows:

1. The modern President has tasks and powers immeasurably greater than those granted him by the Constitution. He is Chief of Party ("the Party that makes him," however, "also brakes him"). He is the Voice of the People ("the leading formulator and expounder of public opinion"). He is Protector of the Peace (he takes "forceful steps" in behalf of any "section or city or group or enterprise that has been hit hard and suddenly by disaster"). He is Manager of Prosperity (he is called upon to prevent "runaway booms and plunging busts"). He is Leader of a Coalition of Free Nations (with a constituency "much larger . . . than the American electorate"). And he

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is Commander in the "ongoing struggle for civil liberties and civil rights" (his task is to "inspire those who are working for a more democratic America and to rebuff those who would drag us backward into the swamps of primitivism and oppression").

2. The Presidency is going to grow more and more powerful: "In the face of history, it seems hard to deny the inevitability of the upward course of the Presidency . . ." To oppose the growth of Presidential power is to take on some of the "major forces in our history": the growth of the "positive" state, our involvement in world affairs, and the unavoidable incidence of crises in our destiny. All of these, we are assured, require a stronger and stronger executive.

3. Despite all the loose talk about power corrupting, and despite the "loud dissenters" in "deep right field," there is nothing in this increase in Executive power to worry about. The President is checked to some extent by Congress and the Courts; a "more reliable" restraint is the "natural obstinacy," the "politics and prejudices of, let us say, the top twenty thousand civil and military officials." Another check is the opposition party; still another is the "opinion of the people of the United States, which pressure groups express with zeal" (the President, says Mr. Rossiter, cannot make headway against the grain of our "private liberty and public morality"). Most important of all, the President is checked by his conscience and training: "He, like the rest of us, has been raised in the American tradition" (as, one supposes, Lenin was raised in the Russian tradition and Batista in the Cuban). He therefore subordinates himself to "the accepted dictates of constitutionalism, democracy, personal liberty, and Christian morality."

I have quoted Rossiter at such length in order to let him make for himself what would otherwise have been the point I should myself have endeavored to make, namely: *The American Presidency* is a venture in myth-making, not analysis; in polemics, not political science; and above all in eristical not dialectical discourse. And all that the less pardonably, for my money, because the first seven pages of Mr. Rossiter's chapter on "The Presidency in History" will bear comparison with the best writing we have on this topic, and because of the following remarkably keen sentences toward the end of the book:

> In point of fact, the struggle over the power of the Presidency, fierce though it may seem, is only a secondary campaign in a political war over the future of America . . . Arguments over its powers are really arguments over the American way of life, and the direction in which it is moving.

Exactly! Mr. Rossiter puts his finger on a basic weakness of current political discussion. But he writes on the powers of the President as a professional scholar, and we may fairly expect him to set others an example—by *not* confusing categories, by *not* palming off policies on immediate issues as usages of the Constitution, and by *not* proceeding as though no reasonable man could possibly disagree with his position—or, if he did, be worth listening to.

Mr. Rossiter shows no understanding whatever, and here his claims to scholarship are certainly at stake, of what goes on in the minds of advocates of Congressional supremacy. Hence his facile dismissal of the Bricker Amendment as an expression of old-fashioned isolationism, of the wish to prevent the United States from playing a vigorous role in world affairs. Hence, too, his failure to take cognizance of the fact that some people have sober reasons for opposing the amendment of the Constitution by Executive fiat, and the further fact that some people who support the Bricker Amendment would have the United States play a *more* vigorous role in world affairs than ever Mr. Rossiter would.

Thus, again, his evasive failure to anticipate the obvious reaction to his remark about the twenty thousand top bureaucrats who exercise a restraining influence. Mr. Rossiter evidently does not know that critics of Executive omnipotence are worried somewhat less about a future President's making like a Batista, and getting away with it, our tradition of private liberty and public morality notwithstanding, than about a President's being captured, and used against both his will and knowledge, by a bureaucracy that has, as some of us increasingly suspect ours has, no respect for either. Mr. Rossiter can, therefore, concede the President's inability to control the bureaucracy, which he as good as does, and satisfy himself that he thereby *eases* our minds concerning the dangers of Presidential power.

Recommended for Professor Rossiter: a month of good hard reading in the literature of legislative supremacy. And a lifetime of redoubled effort over the grammar of freedom.

Un-Damned Fool

Red, Black, Blond and Olive: Studies in Four Civilizations: Zuni, Haiti, Soviet Russia, Israel, by Edmund Wilson. 500 pp. New York: Oxford University Press. $6.75

Edmund Wilson has the ideal temperament for writing a travel dairy. He has zest. He has a frank, unfrittering, manly aplomb which is never too shy to ask questions, open doors, probe, sniff, peek under, and get at what he has come to see. Though his personal tastes are strong, they are never so original or subjective that they pre-empt interest in whatever they are reacting to. Best of all, he is a man for whom literature is not an eccentric, onanistic specialty, but a daily part of the living creature. He is probably the closest thing we have to Dr. Johnson, and I am grateful for him, even when I find him making as unabashed an ass of himself as he does sometimes in his new book.

In 1935, Mr. Wilson spent several months in Soviet Russia. Walter Duranty lent him an apartment with an American refrigerator, and John

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Dos Passos sold him plenty of blocked royalty rubles, so he had a relatively unbureaucratized time. He met a wide variety of citizens, traveled from Leningrad to Odessa, admired Slavic womanhood, and even spent an unexpected six weeks in a hospital, under scarlet fever quarantine.

The resulting diary (originally published in 1936) is now reprinted as the "blond" section of this four-decker travelogue. Formerly excised passages are restored, and in an epilogue for which I cannot find an adequate adjective, Mr. Wilson says he is presenting "without apology this sympathetic account" because:

> the sentiment about Russia in the United States has, in some quarters, been worked up recently to a pitch of hysterical antagonism and panic that makes this an appropriate moment for reminding Americans of the original ideals that inspired the Russian Revolution and of the period when it occupied a position vis-à-vis the rest of the world very similar to that of the United States vis-à-vis Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century.

I pass over the analogy between the U.S. and Russia, which is so ridiculous I almost hope Mr. Wilson reprints his book again some day, and has a chance to remove it. What I want to puzzle over for a moment is his attitude. It is more than merely wrongheaded, or silly, or grotesquely innocent. After all, among other grim matters, Mr. W.'s diary reconstructs the murderous treatment which this sadly abused Russia of his accorded a literary gentleman very much like himself, "my friend, Dmitri S. Mirsky."

No. I honestly think Mr. Wilson is being nothing more than monumentally perverse. His attitude, which as he notes will "undoubtedly be thought friendly to Communism to the point of criminality," is simply a tired reaction to another attitude. He is more fed up with what he calls "hysterical antagonism and panic" than with what aroused it.

This being a signed review, I'd like to be perverse myself. I think Mr. Wilson is a perfect, but *un-damned* fool. Un-damned, because he has that deep crankiness of mind which will forever safeguard a man against becoming a prudent, goody-goody nobody, and lives in a wide, comfortable neighborhood that will never do anything worse to him than make room for him—a combination that always makes for freely flourishing perversity. ROBERT PHELPS

Escape

The Right to Love, by Markoosha Fischer. 280 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. $3.50

I knew Markoosha Fischer long ago, when we were both inmates of the Soviet world. She is one of the few writers in the West with inside knowledge of the mind and heart of "Soviet Man," and her latest book, though no classic like Gouzenko's *Fall of a Titan,* or Victor Serge's *The Case of Comrade Tulayev,* or even Soloviev's *When the Gods are Silent* or Blunden's *A Room on the Route,* merits recognition as one of the best novels we have had from authors who have lived and suffered with the Russian people. On a small canvas, and with figures easily envisioned by American readers, Mrs. Fischer tells a moving and authentic story of the lost generation of Communist youth, sons of the freethinking idealists who made the Revolution but themselves confined from childhood in the straitjacket of Communist conformity.

Americans, whose ignorance of the terrible compulsions that rule the lives of all the Kremlin's subjects is comparable to the innocence of Adam and Eve before the serpent entered Paradise, should recognize themselves in the character of Steve, who loves but does not understand a Russian girl who has preserved her integrity despite the pressures of the Soviet police state. Maya Nazarov tries to teach the young American officer the facts of life in the Communist world, where it is dangerous not to lie to everyone, including oneself; where survival requires that all decent impulses and human feeling be suppressed; where love and friendship and joy have all been dulled to the point of near-extinction. When Maya is spirited away by the MVD, he fails to understand why.

Maya's brother Volik, by contrast, does understand; and he and the lonely half-starved Berlin girl he has raped and abused come, in consequence, to understand — and love—one another. Eva, being German, can make contact with a Russian in spite of his brutality, because she too has been brought up in a world in which the law of life is submission to dehumanization by an all-powerful Party.

Where Maya symbolizes the Russian people, who continue to offer passive resistance to their tyrants, Volik Nazarov is a rigidly orthodox Communist, feared even by his own family. Sent to Germany to root out the Russian DP's and repatriate them to death or slavery, Volik even fails to recognize the broken old man he encounters in an American camp as his father. But he comes to love his Eva wholeheartedly and tenderly, so that his soul is awakened and his inner doubts are dredged up to the surface of his conscience. Eva, to his astonishment, does not accept what she hears "without questioning"; she insists on judging and choosing for herself between the true and the false. Gradually, despite his efforts to remain a robot, he becomes a human being, and the Communist Moloch destroys him for it. Meanwhile Steve reconciles himself to the loss of Maya and returns to a safe life in America with the nice USO girl who has taken a fancy to him. FREDA UTLEY

Crude Myth

John Quincy Adams and the Union, by Samuel Flagg Bemis. 565 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $8.75

The concluding volume of Professor Bemis' elaborate and well written biography of our sixth President is the product of meticulous research largely vitiated by a want of historical perspective and objectivity. As a member of Congress after he left the White House, Adams was increasingly involved in the controversies between North and South. The Sterling Professor of Diplomatic History at Yale assumes that the noisy crew of Abolitionists were the Children of Israel engaged in close cooperation with God, whereas the "Southern capitalists" were the Canaanites, whose vileness is conclusively shown by their presumptuous endeavor to defend themselves and their country. This crude myth is still useful to rabble-rousers, but as sober history is simply grotesque. R.P.O.

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To the Editor

Superintendent Harney

In "The Ivory Tower," May 23, I was particularly drawn to your account of Thomas E. Harney, the superintendent of public schools in the small town of Dunkirk, New York—a small town, but what a powerful man. How proud the people in Dunkirk must be of Mr. Harney, who had the courage of his convictions, and in the end won out against great odds. . . .

May I deviate and compliment the Timken Roller Bearing Company of Canton, Ohio, for the original and penetrating patriotic advertisement in the same issue?

Los Angeles, Cal. ELIZABETH HAMM

Third Party

Conservatives here were disappointed, of course, by the defeat of Governor Shivers; but actually, the third party effort this year never did make sense. Even if the election were thrown into the House, the choice would have to be among the three top men; and in the present state of public opinion it would not be our man. We would be back with a choice between Eisenhower and, say, Soapy Williams. . . .

As a matter of fact, as Northern hypocrisy piles up . . . there are more of us in these parts who are caring less and less if the country goes to where it seems inexorably headed.

Laurens, S.C. BEAUFORT B. COPELAND

Governor Lausche

The Jonathan Mitchell article on Governor Frank Lausche of Ohio [May 23] is a very interesting and, I believe, accurate analysis . . .

Regardless of his oft-proved ability in voter appeal, it would be a miracle indeed if . . . the Democrat Party had the wisdom to place Governor Lausche in the national picture. In fact, this writer believes that since ordinary voters are now confronted with a breakdown in our two-party system . . . the remedy remaining is to elect to Congress those candidates with a sound philosophy of the limited functions of government. . . .

As a Senator from Ohio, Governor Lausche would . . . serve the country as a whole more effectively . . . than in any other capacity.

Trumansburg, N.Y. S. C. MCCONAHEY

Voice from Sweden

Here is one reader's vote: Somewhat less politics. More of general cultural import. . . .

You review too much trash. Why not keep readers informed about "heretical" books like, say, Peter Viereck's recent publications? Criticize what you think should be criticized, but don't keep your readers ignorant of writers that, in spite of essential differences, have so much in common with yourselves. . . . On the whole, I enjoy your magazine.

Norrkoping, Sweden TOLKE LEANDER

FROM THE ACADEMY

(*Continued from p.* 19)

a general and prudent reaction in the Western world against radical "ideology."

The Myrmidons of Mr. Hutchins' Fund for the Republic are busy, just now, in passing out free books of matches imprinted with the legend "Feel Free." (Cross my heart and hope to die: they're *really* doing it.) Well, freedom is a good thing; but it is not good to feel free of all fears. The fear of God, for instance, is the beginning of wisdom. It is also well to fear the gloomy power of apathy, far too general on many campuses. But that apathy, in part, is in consequence of the failure of the Liberal intellectual; and the revival of a conservatism of reflection among students is a sign of health. No one ought to fear it, unless he has a vested interest in mindless conformity to yesterday's "ideological" slogans.

Margaret Cone

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10 Prizes 10

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OR

A $50 certificate for records of your choice from the Record Hunter, "The World's Largest Selection of Recorded Classical Music," 1200 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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Official Entry Blank

D-3

"Pick the Candidates!" Contest

When properly filled out and submitted together with complete entry blanks D-1, D-2, and D-4, this will constitute an official entry to NATIONAL REVIEW's "Pick the Candidates!" contest, subject to the contest rules. Address your entry to "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th St., New York 16, N. Y.

I predict that the number of first ballot votes for the Presidential nominee at the 1956 Republican Convention will be:

_____

_____

My Name

_____

Address

_____

City Zone State

(The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW request the following information, which is not, however, an entry requirement for the contest.)

I suggest that the following might be interested in NATIONAL REVIEW:

_____

Name

_____

Address

_____

City Zone State

Contest Rules

1. Any resident of the United States above eighteen years of age may enter (except employees of NATIONAL REVIEW and their families).
2. To enter the contest, each contestant must fill out four official entry blanks (or facsimiles) with predictions as follows:
   a) The 1956 Republican nominees for President and Vice President
   b) The 1956 Democratic nominees for President and Vice President
   c) The number of first ballot votes (out of a possible 1323) for the Republican Presidential nominee
   d) The number of first ballot votes (out of a possible 1372) for the Democratic Presidential nominee
3. Beginning with the March 7 issue, NATIONAL REVIEW is publishing one entry blank each week for twenty successive weeks. These blanks will be numbered as follows: A1, A2, A3, A4; B1, B2, B3, B4; C1, C2, C3, C4; D1, D2, D3, D4; E1, E2, E3, E4.
4. Each contestant must fill out the four complete blanks of one set (i.e. the "C" set, "D" set, etc.), and must send in all four at one time, in one envelope. Each contestant may send in one entry of each set — five possible entries in all. (It is not necessary to buy NATIONAL REVIEW in order to enter. You may apply for entry blanks at NATIONAL REVIEW's office at 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.; but, to facilitate handling, only one blank can be supplied on each application.)
5. The contest will close on August 1, 1956. Final entries must be postmarked not later than 11 P.M. on that date. Winners will be notified on or before September 15, 1956.
6. All entries must be addressed to: "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.
7. The standing of the contestants will be determined by the number of candidates correctly named, with ties decided by the relative accuracy of the first ballot estimates. If ties still remain, tie-breaking questions will be assigned.
8. The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW will act as judges. Their decision on all matters will be final.
9. Entries to this contest will not be accepted from states where prize contests are prohibited by state or local law.

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